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Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 NEAE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00
USIE-00 INRE-00 SSM-05 IO-14 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-10 OMB-01 TRSE-00 DHA-02
/096 W
----------106476 081710Z /53
O 081522Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7125
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
USMISSION SINAI
USMISSION USUN

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E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: PGOV, PBOR, IS
SUBJECT:PRIME MINISTER BEGIN'S ZOA ADDRESS--CALL FOR A POLITICAL
TRUCE BEFORE GENEVA

BEGIN SUMMARY: PRIME MINISTER BEGIN, IN A MDOERATELY
PHRASED ADDRSS TO THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA
(ZOA) CONVENTION JULY 7 IN JERUSALEM, (A) REITERATED
ISRAEL'S READINESS TO GO TO GENEVA CONFERENCE AFTER
OCTOBER 10; (B) CALLED ON ASAD, SADAT AND HUSSEIN TO
AGREE TO A "POLITICAL TRUCE" BETWEEN NOW AND THE
RECONVENING OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IN WHICH ALL
PARTIES WOULD REFRAIN FROM DEFINING WHAT SHOULD
CONSTITUTE EACHOTHER'S NATIONAL SECURITY AND BORDERS;
(C) SAID THATISRAEL IS NOT THREATENING ANY OF ITS
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NEIGHBORS AND (D) URGED SADAT TO REFRAIN FROM TALKING
ABOUT THE POSSIBILITYOF ATMOC CONFLICT.BEGIN
SAID THAT ONLY ISRAEL CAN DEFINE WHAT CONSTITUTES
ITS NATIONAL SECURITY.FINALLY, HE SAID THAT ALL
SUBJECTS ARE OPEN TO NEGOTIATIONS AT GENEVA, BUT
ISRAEL WILL NOT AGREE TO ACCEPT SADAT'S PRE-
CONDITION THAT IT DECLARE IN ADVANCE ITS READINESS

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TO WITHDRAW TO 1967 BORDERS AND ACCEPT CREATION OF
A PALESTINIAN STATE ON WEST BANK/GAZA. END SUMMARY

1. IN HIS LAST-SCHEDULED PUBLIC APPEARANCE PRIOR TO
GOING TO WSHINGTON, BEGIN DIRECTED HIS ZOA CONVENTION REMARKS
TO ARAB LEADERS, AND PARTICULARLY PRESIDENT SADAT, IN LOW-KEY
AND DELIBERATELY NON-BELLICOSE MANNER, CALLLING ON THEM
TO KEEP THE PEACE PROCESS MOVING TOWARD RCONVENING
OF GENEVA CONFERENCE. BEGIN, WORKING FROM NOTES
ONLY, SPOKE FOR ABOUT 40 MINUTES IN ENGLISH. THE
SPEECH WAS CAREFULLY CONSTRUCTED, BUILDING IN A
LOGICAL MANNER ON THREE MAJOR THEMES: A)THE
DEFINITION OF NATIONAL SECURITY; B) THE DEFINITION
OF A PRECONDITION FOR NEGOTIATIONS, AND C) A
PROPOSAL FOR A POLITICAL TRUCE. HIGHLIGHTS OF THE
SPEECH ARE AS FOLLOWS:

2. NATIONAL SECURITY.BEGIN SAID THAT ISRAEL KNOWS
VERY WELL WHAT CONSTITUTES ITS NATIONAL SECURITY
AND DOES NOT NEED OUTSIDERS TO DEFINE IT. EVOKING
THE HOLOCAUST, HE SAID THAT ISRAEL WILL NOT ALLOW
ITSELF TO BE IN A POSITION WHERE ITS CIVILIAN
POPULATION WILL BE IN THE RANGE OF CONVENTIONAL
SOVIET-SUPPLIED ARTILLERY (43.8 KM BY HIS CALUCLA-
TION). NATIONAL SECURITY, HE SAID, MEANS PROTECTING
THE LIFE OF EVERY MAN, WOMAN AND CHILD IN THE
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STATE.THE IDF WILL DEFEND THE COUNTRY, BUT IT
COULD FIND ITSELF IN AN OBJECTIVELY IMPOSSIBLE
MILITARY SITUATION IF THE ENEMY WERE IN A POSITION
TO LAUNCH LARGE-SCALE ARTILLERY ATTACK AGAINST
CIVILIAN CENTERS. MISSILES, HE ADDED, WERE WEAPONS
MADE IN ORDER TO TO BE USED (I.E., THEY ARE
WEAPONS OF DETERRENCE)BUT ISRAEL WOULD HAVE TO
RESPOND IN KIND IF ENEMY FORCES USED THEM AGAINST
ITS CIVILIAN POPULATION.

3. APPEAL TO SADAT. BEGIN NOTED THAT PRESIDENT
SADAT HAD SAID TWICE IN ONE WEEK THAT IF ISRAEL
USES ATMOIC WEAPONS AGAINST EGYPT, THE LATTER
WOULD RETALIATE MASSIVELY. SADAT, HE
CONTINUED, HAD SAID THAT THIS WOULD COST
ISRAEL 2 MILLIONLIVES AND EGYPT 1 MILLION LIVES.
ISRAEL, BEGIN SAID,WANTS TO MAKE PEACE AND LIVE IN
PEACE WITH EGYPT.IT DOES NOT WANT TO TURN EGYPTIAN
WOMEN INTO WIDOWS OR EGYPTIAN CHILDREN INTO
ORPHANS. HE CALLED ON SADAT NOT TO DISCUSS
PHANTASMAGORIC THOUGHTS AND FIGURES ABOUT

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ACTION NEA-10

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USMISSION SINAI
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ATOMIC WARFARE. ISRAEL, HE WENT ON, DOES NOT
THREATEN ANY OF ITS NEIGHBORS WITH EITHER ATOMIC
OR CONVENTIONAL ARMS BEGIN SAID HE SUBSCRIBES
TO THE SENTIMENTS EXPRESSED BY MOROCCO'S KING
HASSSAN--THAT A PEACE SETTLEMENT WULD USHER IN A
NEW GOLDEN AGE IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HE SAID THAT
ISRAEL WAS PREPARED TO HELP EGYPT DEVELOP ITS
AGRICULTURE AND ITS ECONOMY AS IT HAD EXTENDED
ASSISTANCE TO OTHER COUNTRIES.

4. NO PRECONDITIONS. SADAT HAD TOLD PRESIDENT
CARTER,BEGIN CONTINUED,THAT EGYPT WOULD NOT GO
TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE UNLESS ISRAEL ANNOUNCED IN
ADVANCE ITS READINESS TO WITHDRAW TO THE 1967 BORDERS
AND TO ACCEPT THE CREATION OF A SO-CALLED PALESTINIAN
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STATE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA.BEGIN SAID HE
USED THE WORDS "SO-CALLED" NOT OUT OF DISRESPECT
FOR ANY PEOPLE BUT BECAUSE PALESTINE WAS SIMPLY
THE TRANSLATION FROMTHE HEBREW FOR THE LAND OF
ISRAEL. HE RECALLED THAT THE PREAMBLE TO THE
1922 LEAGUE OF NATIONS MANDATE TO GREAT BRITAIN
OVER PALESTINE HAD RECOGNIZED THE HISTORICAL
CONNECTION BETWEEN THE JEWISHPEOPLE AND PALESTINE.
BEGIN SAID THAT SADAT'S PROPOSAL FOR A PALESTINIAN
STATE IN THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WOULD NVOLVE A
CORRIDOR THROUGH THE HEGEV WHICH WOULD "MUTILATE"
THE COUNTRY. (REFERRING TO DANZIG, HE SAID
"REMEMBER THE CORRIDORS"). THERE IS A NATIONAL
CONSENSUS IN ISRAEL, EXCEPT FOR THE COMMUNISTS
SUBSERVIENT TO MOSCOW, AGAINST WITHDRAWAL TO THE
1967 BORDERS AND THE CREATION OF A PALESTINIAN
STATE. SADAT, HE WENT ON, CAN BRING THIS PROPOSAL
TO GENEVA. BUT IF IT WAS A PRECONDITION FOR
GENEVA, THEN HE COULD STAY IN CAIRO. NO OTHER
COUNTRY AGREES IN ADVANCE TO PRECONDITIONS FOR
PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.ISRAEL WILL BE NO EXCEPTION.

5. JERUSALEM.ISRAEL WILL STATE AT THE GENEVA
CONFERENCE THAT UNITED JERUSALEM WILL REMAIN
FOREVER THE CAPITAL OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL.BUT
ISRAEL DOES NOT MAKE ARAB ACCEPTANCE OF THIS POINT
A PRECONDITION FOR GOING TO GENEVA. ISRAEL
WILL PUT DOWN ITS CLAIMS AT GENEVA; THE ARABS CAN
PUT DOWN THEIR CLAIMS.SPEAKING IN HEBREW AT
START OF HIS SPEECH, BEGIN ALSO CALLED ON
THE PRESIDENT TO FULFILL THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
CAMPAIGN PLEDGE TO MOVE THE EMBASSY TO JDERUSALEM.

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6. POLITICAL TRUCE. AS THE LAST POINT OF HIS
SPEECH, BEGIN CALLED ON ASAD, SADAT AND HUSSEIN
TO COME TO A RECONVENED GENEVA CONFERENCE TOGETHER
WITH ISRAEL AFTER OCTOBER 10, 1977, UPON THE
INVITATION OF THE U.S. AND THE USSR. HE THEN CALLED
ON THE ARAB LEADERS TO ENTER INTO A POLITICAL AS
WELL AS A MILITARY CASEFIRE WITH ISRAEL BETWEEN
NOW AND THE CONVENING OF THE CONFERENCE. IF THE
ARABS ARE SILENT, ISRAEL WILL BE SILENT. THE
ARABS SHOULD NOT TELL ISRAEL WHAT CONSTITUTES
ISRAEL'S NATIONAL SECURITY OR WHERE ITS BORDERS
OUGHT TO BE.THESE ARE MATTERS TO BE WORKED OUT
AT THE NEGOTIATING TABLE. BUT IF THE ARABS
CONTINUE TO SPEAK OUT ON THESE SUBJECTS, THEN

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ISRAEL ALSO WILL SPEAK OUT. ISRAEL WILL TELL
THEM WHAT ITS NATIONAL SECURITY IS AND WHAT
CONSTITUTES ITS HOMELAND.

7. BEGIN'S SPEECH WAS ENTHUSIASTICALLY RECEIVED
BY THE THOUSDAND-PLUS DELEGATES, MOSTLY FROM THE
U.S. HE RECEIVED STANDING OVATIONS AT THE
BEGINNING AND THE END,AND WAS INTERRUPTED
REPEATEDLY BY APPLAUSE.EMBASSY ASSESSMENT OF
THE EVENING PLUS SUMMARY OF PRESENTATIONS BY ZOA
PRESIDENT JOSEPH STERNSTEIN AND SENATOR DOLE
FOLLOW SEPTEL.
LEWIS

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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Disposition Comment:
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Disposition Event:
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Executive Order: N/A
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
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TAGS: PGOV, PBOR, IS, XF, ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, ZOA, (BEGIN, MENAHEM)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/d8998a6e-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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